WYATT

COLLECTED POEMS

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GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

SIR THOMAS WYATT

Collected Poems

EDITED BY
JOOST DAALDER

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SIR THOMAS WYATT
Born, Allington Castle, Kent, 1503
Died, Sherborne, Dorset, October 1542

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PREFACE

An edition offering correct and annotated transcripts of the primary sources containing Wyatt's and other early Tudor verse is badly needed; meanwhile it is hoped that the present volume will provide the general reader with as accurate a modernized text as can at this stage be constructed, and that the annotation[1] will help him to understand and to enjoy Wyatt's poems, which are increasingly attracting attention for their intrinsic significance and appeal.

Much of the work on this edition was done in England in 1972, when the Council of the University of Otago and my colleagues kindly allowed me a year's leave of absence. However, textual problems in Wyatt have preoccupied me since my student days, when I first worked on them under Professor J. Swart, of the University of Amsterdam.

Since there was no reliable edition of Wyatt on which I could base my text, it has been necessary to re-edit it entirely. All the primary sources from which the text derives have been re-examined for this purpose. I have found that manuscripts, particularly, need to be investigated at first hand.

It will be observed that the text differs significantly from that in Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson, eds., *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool, 1969), which I have reviewed, together with other editions, in 'Editing Wyatt', *Essays in Criticism* XXIII (1973), pp. 399–413. It has been impossible to draw attention to the numerous errors throughout MT. A list of them would take up many pages. Mr. H. A. Mason attempts to correct MT from cover to cover in *Editing Wyatt* (Cambridge, 1972). Unfortunately the task is not carried out adequately. But I have avoided one or two mistakes as a result of Mr. Mason's efforts, and despite our disagreement on several matters we agree on others.

A good point about MT is that its Commentary gathers so much of the work done by other scholars, or at least references

[1] In accordance with O.U.P. practice, words explained in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* have not been glossed.

to it. This has saved me much time. I have also greatly benefited from the discussions of Wyatt's foreign sources, and I am indebted to the labours of the editors in some other respects; more so than I have been able to indicate in detail.

Since MT is readily available, it has seemed unnecessary to take over specific acknowledgements recorded there; however, I have attempted to correct several mistaken ones. My debt to Nott (the best editor of Wyatt), Rollins, and to a lesser extent Hughey, Padelford, and Foxwell, goes well beyond my specific references to their editions. For biographical information, I am particularly indebted to Nott, E. K. Chambers, Foxwell, Muir, and William H. Wiatt. But my least adequately acknowledged debt is to Raymond Southall, formerly of the University of Sheffield, now Professor of English at Wollongong University College, who has generously allowed me the use of his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Birmingham University, 1961), which amongst other useful material includes the best complete transcripts of E and D which I have seen; and who not only offered me special transcripts of the H, C, and P poems, but also checked those in B, and rechecked several in E and D. An editor must make up his own mind about the primary sources, but I have greatly appreciated Professor Southall's help.

I am also very grateful to Mr. John Buxton, Fellow of New College, Oxford, for all the work he has put into supervising this edition.

My thanks are further due to the following for permission to consult and print from material in their possession: the Trustees of the British Museum; His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G.; the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin; and the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. My task has been much eased by permission to consult material in the Bodleian Library and the English Faculty Library in Oxford.

While I have received generous help from many (I apologize to those I have overlooked), I alone am responsible for my inaccuracies. I should be grateful if they were pointed out to me.

Dunedin, May 1974

J. D.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1503 Born Allington Castle, Kent. Son of Sir Henry Wyatt and Anne Skinner.

1516 Sewer Extraordinary at Court. Perhaps a student at Cambridge.

c. 1520 Married Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Thomas, Lord Cobham.

1521 His son, Thomas, born. A daughter, Frances, born 1521 or 1522. W later (in 1526?) left his wife, apparently because she was adulterous.

1523 W, who became an Esquire of the Royal Body, twice carried royal funds to St. Mary's Abbey, York.

1524 Clerk of the King's Jewels.

1524 At Christmastide, participated in a feat of arms before Henry VIII, with Brian (cf. CVII), Poyntz (CV), and Norris (CXLIX).

1526 On a diplomatic mission to France with Sir Thomas Cheney. Carried messages from France to England and *vice versa*.

1527 On a mission to the papal court in Italy, with Sir John Russell. Also to Venice. Taken prisoner by the Spaniards; escaped, or set free.

1527 Translated Plutarch's *The Quyete of Mynde*.

1528 (or 1529) Marshal of Calais; again in 1530.

1532 Justice of the Peace in Essex.

1532 Accompanied Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn to France (cf. LIX).

1533 Deputized for his father as Chief Ewer at the wedding of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.

1534 May: committed to the Fleet after an affray with the sergeants of London. June: licensed to have twenty men in livery, and to command Kentish soldiers.

1535 High Steward of the Abbey of Malling. Knighted. Received grant of the lease of Aryngden Park, Yorkshire.

1536 May: put in the Tower, apparently in connection with the downfall of Anne Boleyn and her supposed lovers. Cf. CXLIII and CXLIX. Soon released, on parole to his father at Allington. Steward of Conysborowe Castle; aided King against Northern rebels with supply of men; Sheriff of Kent.

1537 Given the livery of his deceased father's lands. Sent to Spain as Ambassador, to improve strained relations between Henry VIII and Charles V—an impossible mission. Spent next few years mostly abroad.

1537 April: wrote letters to his son (cf. ML, 38–44).

1537 October: wrote letter at Barbastra, near Monçon, and poem LXXXI.

1538 April: Bonner (later Bishop of London) joined W as special ambassador. Thomas Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal and W's patron,

ensured that B.'s slanderous accusations against W (cf. ML, 64–69) came to nothing.

1538 June: in England with proposals from Charles V, who meanwhile agreed on a truce with Francis I. Visited Elizabeth Darrell (cf. e.g. XCVIII), the mistress of his later years. She bore him a son.

1539 Left Spain (early June) to return to England. Cf. XCIX.

1539 November: sent to Charles V in France, again as Ambassador.

1540 January: followed Charles V to Flanders. May: returned to England. June: an exchange of property arranged between Henry VIII and W. July: Cromwell arrested and put in the Tower.

1540 28 July: Cromwell beheaded. Cf. CLX.

1541 17 January: arrested and put in the Tower. Bonner's charges had been found amongst Cromwell's papers, and were revived. W instructed to answer the charges in writing (cf. his Declaration, ML 178–84); prepared his Defence (ML, 187–209). Soon released. Perhaps 'confessed', or was ordered to take back his wife.

1541 April: sent to Calais as captain of 300 light cavalry. Later M.P. for Kent.

1542 February: given some offices which had belonged to Katherine Howard's lover. March: again exchanged property with the King; made Chief Steward of the manor of Maidstone. August: captain of a number of vessels, and Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. October: conducted Irish leaders to do duty to Prince Edward.

1542 October: sent out to meet the Spanish Envoy at Falmouth. On his way, fell ill with a violent fever, and died in the house of a friend at Sherborne, Dorset. Buried there on 11 October, in the Great Church.

INTRODUCTION

As several scholars have recently observed, Wyatt's poems now enjoy greater critical esteem than at almost any time since his death. By and large, the poems in this edition will need no defence. The purpose of this Introduction will be to remove some possible obstacles to a just appreciation of them, and to present the poet himself to his readers.

In the past, Wyatt has been severely attacked for his supposed lack of prosodic skill. This criticism is now generally coming to be seen as largely unwarranted. The song-like poems, it is true, have on the whole given pleasure rather than offence to those who like flowing verse, but such readers have been inclined to disapprove of many poems (often, but certainly not always, 'translations') which they expected to be iambic, and then proceeded to condemn as irregular. The expectation is hardly justified. There is no doubt that the iambic pentameter became normative after Wyatt's death. It is clear, for instance, that the editor of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557), which for the first time presented a sizeable proportion of Wyatt's poems to the general public, persistently attempted to eliminate what were felt to be undesirable metrical irregularities in them. However, when Wyatt himself came to write poetry, he naturally turned to such English traditions as were available to him. One of these traditions was that of native but rhythmically smooth lyrics, but 'side by side with this line of metrical form there existed the discursive poetry of the fifteenth century in which regular flowing rhythms played little or no part. This seems to have been part of the rhythmical tradition of the language that went back to the alliterative line with its well-marked pause separating two distinct rhythmical units.'[1] It is evident from more than one of Wyatt's revisions

[1] D. W. Harding, 'The Poetry of Wyatt', in *The Age of Chaucer*, ed. Boris Ford, Vol. I of *The Pelican Guide to English Literature* (1954; rev. impr. 1959), pp. 197–212. I quote from p. 203, but am indebted to the whole article.

that he had no consistent desire to make his lines iambic, and any attempt to read all of his verse as though he had is doomed to frustration, or forces one to record so many departures from the norm that the very existence of such a norm becomes questionable.

None the less, it is possible that Wyatt was to some extent working towards iambic pentameter verse. There are moments when it is difficult to escape this feeling—for instance the opening of Psalm 130 (CVIII). Where we can study his practice rather than that of his scribes, we can observe that he carefully varies his forms (e.g. in CVIII, *provokt* in line 89, but *provokyd* in line 396) so as to secure syllabic regularity.[2] But his accentual patterning is highly varied.

Much work has gone into the question of the relation between Wyatt's poems and his sources. This, however, is a matter for the specialist rather than the general reader, who need not feel that he cannot enjoy the poems without prolonged attention to it. Wyatt does build on traditional materials, both native and foreign, but it is the result which matters. As has been shown, the extent of his debt to foreign models has been much exaggerated. Many of his poems have been virtually ignored because they could not be compared with Petrarch and other continental authors. Those that can be are often quite different from their sources, and even when Wyatt is close to them, he works as a poet whose style bears the stamp of his own personality. He selects and shapes materials *he* can use. Much that he could find in Petrarch already existed in English literature anyway, and thus a Petrarchan sonnet is to him often no more than 'the occasion for a lover's complaint'.[3]

Of late, some of the 'translations' have been highly praised, the Psalms (CVIII) in particular, for the originality which they contain. This praise was much overdue, but it should not obscure two important points. The first is that originality is

[2] Accentuation and syllabification in Wyatt's time differed from modern English. Even with this fact in mind, however, we cannot read the verse as consistently iambic in the sense that, e.g., Pope's is.

[3] Raymond Southall, *The Courtly Maker* (Oxford, 1964), p. 35.

perhaps overvalued in our age. It is a quality that we are no doubt justified to esteem, but we must remember that Wyatt did not set himself up as an original poet in the way a later one might, so that if we treasure the original aspects of his work at the expense of the traditional ones, we are in danger of using an anachronistic yardstick. The second point is closely connected with the first. There has been a tendency amongst recent critics to reject the lyrics because these poems contain much conventional phrasing. This verdict does not seem valid. In art, we should not admire something because it is new or old, but because it is intrinsically important or appealing. It is, in any case, perfectly possible for a poet to share the feelings which a traditional phrase expresses; his use of such a phrase is no sign of insincerity on his part. But the real test of a poem's merit is not whether or not the poet uses conventional elements or really feels what he says; it is whether or not the poem is in its own right a successful artefact. Judged as such, many of Wyatt's lyrics are entirely satisfying, and it will be noticed that they reveal much the same *poetic* personality as do his other poems.

Even so, there are unmistakable signs that at least a number of Wyatt's poems did spring from his own experience, and we should probably see his life and his poems as an integrated whole. There is no space here for a detailed biography (which works by Nott, Chambers, and Muir go some way towards providing), and Southall, in *The Courtly Maker*, has already related much of Wyatt's verse to his life at Court. A brief sketch of the man and his poems may nevertheless be useful.

A Hans Holbein drawing of Wyatt is in the possession of the Queen. It is described (and dated about 1537 or later) by K. T. Parker, who also reproduces it, in *The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (Oxford & London, 1945). According to Parker's account (pp. 54–55), three other portraits of Wyatt are based on a Holbein original which is now lost. One of these, a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, is reproduced on the cover of this book. Cf. also Kenneth Muir's *Life and Letters* (ML).

Contemporaries thought of Wyatt as strikingly handsome.

Surrey says that his form was one where force and beauty met, and that when he died Nature lost the mould of perfect manhood. Leland also comments on his beauty and physical strength. His all-round ability has often been remarked. He seems to have been skilled in arms, in sports, in diplomacy, in poetry, and in letters generally. About his learning there can be no doubt. According to the erudite Camden, Wyatt was 'splendide doctus'. He knew several languages, as is evident from his work as an Ambassador and from his poems. He was not only interested in politics and literature, however, but also in other activities of the mind—for instance, astronomy (cf. CIV). His intelligence is apparent from his diplomatic work and his poetry; perhaps particularly from his observations of Charles V, whose mind he seems to have gauged even where it hardly showed itself, from his Defence (1541; cf. ML, 187–209), and from his handling of difficult theological material in the Penitential Psalms (CVIII). It is often thought that he was an accomplished musician, but of this there is even less evidence than that he wrote poems to be sung.[4]

Wyatt was held in high regard by Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell, and Charles V. There are several poems in his praise by people who knew him (cf. Nott and ML). Surrey's tributes (cf. ed. Emrys Jones, poems 28–31) are well worth reading for their perceptive comments on Wyatt's character and attributes. Quite rightly, Surrey sees Wyatt as restless, profound, moral, a generally excellent poet and particularly a Christian one, possessed of sharp judgement, and free from deceit himself, though the innocent victim of deceit practised by others.

A good deal has been written about Wyatt's supposed relationship with Anne Boleyn. It is doubtful whether we shall ever get at the exact truth about this, and even if we do, we should not see the matter as the chief thing behind Wyatt's verse. None the less, there are indications that Wyatt was at one time emotionally involved with Anne; the issue is of interest in itself; and to some extent it does affect our view of the poems.

[4] Despite, e.g., Winifred Maynard, *RES*, 1965, pp. 1–13 and 245–57.

Poem XCVII demonstrates that Wyatt had been in love with Anne Boleyn; line 8, before Wyatt revised it, read 'Her that did set our country in a rore'. However, poem VII, which quite likely also alludes to Anne, seems to suggest that he courted her rather than that he succeeded in becoming her lover. Obviously, we would read the poem differently if he was. The problem is to decide whether the contemporary documents which suggest a sexual relationship should be trusted (cf. ML, 19 ff.). Some of them may be Roman Catholic slander. But the account by William H. Wiatt (*ELN*, 1968, 94–102) would seem to lend quite plausible support to the tradition that Wyatt was Anne's lover, and confessed this to Henry VIII when the King set his mind on her.

According to Wiatt, the intimacy between the poet and Anne Boleyn probably began in 1525 or 1526. When he discovered that he had a rival in the King himself, and when in the late summer of 1527 the Court knew that Henry intended to marry Anne, Wyatt presumably confessed his former illicit affair to the King. Wyatt was sent to Calais, perhaps because it was convenient to have him away from Court for some time. In 1530, back at Court, Wyatt may unguardedly have talked about his earlier relationship, upon which the Duke of Suffolk possibly passed this on to the King, for which he was banished. Anne, safeguarding her interests, may have had a hand in Wyatt's second departure for Calais, in 1530.

This interpretation of events depends heavily on a letter written on 10 May 1530 by Chapuys, Charles V's ambassador in England, to the Emperor. In this letter Wyatt is not actually mentioned by name, and in any case we need not regard the problems as permanently solved. But Wiatt's account tallies well with the known facts, with the various sixteenth-century reports, and with the circumstance that the poet in his Defence of 1541 refers to the persistent hostility shown to him by the Duke of Suffolk, whom he blames for his imprisonment in 1536.

Whatever the precise circumstances alluded to in poem VII, the reference to Caesar makes little sense if it does not hint at Henry VIII, and Wyatt's attitude may carry more weight with

us if we realize that it probably arises from the pressure of actual experience. Typically, he speaks as though he gives up the chase of his own accord while yet he reveals (as our view of the historical situation tends to confirm) that the situation leaves him little choice. Allusions to Anne Boleyn seem to be not infrequent in his poems, and not only in those written in or before 1527. Poem XCVII is probably much later, and poem LIX was almost certainly written in 1532 when Wyatt, accompanying Anne en route to France, reflected on his changed feelings towards her. We should not try to find hints where there are none, but in several places they offer themselves quite plainly (poem L is another example). The notes will deal with this matter in more detail. The allusions are the more remarkable if one remembers the constant dangers, often mentioned by Wyatt, of treachery, slander, and death in Henry VIII's court. It would have been less surprising if there were no allusions at all than if there had been many more.

It is a reasonable assumption that we are to imagine a real situation behind poems which less obviously refer to a particular, known woman. Of course we cannot be certain of this; many poems embody situations which may look real, but which had in fact been conventional in English verse for a long time. Nevertheless, what the poems express often fits in strikingly with the events in Wyatt's life. Wyatt frequently complains about the fickleness of women and their refusal to give him the protection of permanent love. In poem VII the woman is no doubt Anne Boleyn. At other times he may or does refer to other courtly ladies, but it is also notable that Wyatt appears to have repudiated his wife, Elizabeth Brooke, because she was adulterous. In a letter to his son (ML, 38 ff.), Wyatt characteristically says that the result of strife between man and wife is unrest, and equally characteristically he blames in his own case the woman rather than himself. (He seems to have been reluctant to help his wife financially, cf. ML, 37.) Not much is known about Wyatt's life with the mistress of his later years, Elizabeth Darrell, but there is sufficient evidence to show that he loved her, and his affection

for her is plain in poem XCVII, while XCVIII almost certainly expresses his longing for her while he is in Spain (we should note that lines 79–80 are Wyatt's addition to his source). If Wyatt appears anxious, this is not in the least surprising: we know for certain that his relations with Elizabeth Brooke and Anne Boleyn were not permanent.

Wyatt's poems often deal with courtly love in a very literal sense; but courtly love was closely tied up with courtly politics (as in Anne Boleyn's case), and Wyatt's reactions in both spheres show consistency. The death of Thomas Cromwell, for instance, is described in much the same language in poem CLX as Wyatt uses elsewhere in his love poems. The editor of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* actually thought that the poem was about 'the death of his loue'. Clearly Wyatt thought of Cromwell as offering the security which at other times he expected from women. This time, his grief is on record outside the poem; and we find Wyatt writing (ML, 142) that his *only trust* is in Cromwell and the King. Much of his verse is about the loss of, or betrayal of, trust. It is often impossible to decide whether he is referring to a treacherous mistress or to a deceitful enemy at Court. Certainly his courtly experiences account for his fear and hatred of slander, the more dangerous because it is concealed. We need only think of the malicious Bonner, a persistent enemy, to whom Wyatt owed his imprisonment in 1541. Poems that refer to a sudden, unhinging shift in the favours of Fortune can be seen as related to this confinement, or for example to Wyatt's spell in the Tower in 1536, when he witnessed the fall of others besides. This event is specifically alluded to in poems CXLIII and CXLIX.

It is true that on the whole Wyatt's life was not unsuccessful, given the circumstances of Henry's regime, but he suffered enough misfortune to explain the melancholy tone in much of his work, and his condemnation of the vices which he saw around him or was the victim of. He encountered a good deal of frustration in his diplomatic work, and he witnessed the duplicity of Charles V, on which he comments in his letters, and perhaps in poem CV. In his first letter to his son, he

speaks as though he has gone through 'a thousand dangers and hazards, enmities, hatreds, prisonments, despites and indignations' (cf. ML, 40). He blames his own 'folly and unthriftiness' for this, as he does more than once in his verse; but it is significant, and fully consistent with what we find in the poems, that already in 1537 he saw his life as made up of these depressing experiences. It is only natural that in several poems we see Wyatt turn away from the courtly life (outwardly alluring, but perilous and nauseating underneath), and express a preference for a quiet, humble, and anonymous life.

This may sound as though he tended to indulge in easy escapism, but such is not the case. He remained involved in the courtly life until his sudden death, but tried to steel his nerves by enduring suffering patiently. He instructed his son to read Seneca, the Roman Stoic philosopher, who left his stamp on some of Wyatt's verse, and he was influenced, too, by Boethius and by Plutarch's *Quyete of Mynde* (Wyatt's title), which he translated. Quiet of mind is indeed what Wyatt in several poems professes to be his aim. But even when we see him in poem CV at Allington, the family's castle in Kent, we must remember (no matter whether the poem was written in 1536 or 1541) that Wyatt in all probability had been released from prison shortly before, and that, besides, his chief interest is in attacking courtly vices, not in the countryside. He shows a tough kind of wit here, too.

In not a few poems, he sets himself against desire for materials things (CVI) and against lust (CVI and CLXXXIV), because they lead man astray and into unhappiness. In CVI he does not see lust as a bad thing merely because it makes man unhappy, but also because it is God's way that it does, and God's wish that man seek virtue. Against man's vice, whether it springs from others or from himself, Wyatt seeks support in God. The Penitential Psalms (CVIII) reveal how David turns to God partly because he is in danger from his enemies (as Wyatt was in 1536 and 1541), but particularly because of his own sexual sin. David must show repentance if his relationship with God is to be harmonious. Unfortunately we do not know precisely when the poem was written or what autobiographical

events Wyatt may allude to. But we do know from Wyatt's letters to his son (ML, 38 ff.) that in 1537 he was much concerned with his own sins, God's chastising him, God's favour 'purchased' for him by his father, and the need for repentance. There is a striking resemblance to David's concerns within the poem. And it is interesting that Wyatt's father writes, with reference to the cause of Wyatt's imprisonment in 1536, that Wyatt has been indiscreet and needs to be disciplined; he is to learn to 'fly vice and serve God better than he hath done' (cf. ML, 31). The poet, in his first letter to his son, states as plainly why one is to give God the helm of the ship of one's life, and what the disastrous consequences are if one does not, as he does in several of his poems (cf., e.g., CXLIII). Wyatt relates his religious message to events in his own life in this letter; presumably the relationship is implied in his poems.

It should also be pointed out that Mr. Mason finds Protestantism in the Psalms. Again, there are several indications outside the poem that Wyatt did have Protestant sympathies. There is the testimony of Wallop (ML, 176–7), also that of the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1545). Wyatt himself admits in his Defence (ML, 195) that he was thought of as a Lutheran rather than a 'Papist'. He showed great zeal in attacking the Inquisition, from which he was in danger. And his anti-Roman feelings are obvious in poem CV. But, as Mr. Mason explains, Wyatt was not a sectarian. In one letter to Henry VIII, he describes himself as a good papist (ML, 72). This was a time when the best and most earnest minds struggled with their religious and ethical problems in an independent way, and Wyatt is no exception. We should not call the Psalms 'Lutheran' or 'Protestant' and then conveniently leave them unread; they have plenty of life, and this is because we see in them a mind reforming itself—in a true and significant sense—in contact with God.

Wyatt's loyalty to Henry VIII is apparent throughout his career. His father had been as loyal to Henry VII. We need not, as modern readers, question Wyatt's sincerity in this. He was a patriot, and anti-papal. His patriotism is evident from his

diplomatic work, but also, for instance, from poem XCIX. His loyalty to King and Country is in character. He felt threatened by and disapproved of man's treachery and instability. He is sorrowful; he attacks; he tries to attain quiet of mind in the face of danger; but above all he values a strong *rapport*—with women and friends, with Cromwell and Henry, and with God.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Full, accurate descriptions and transcripts of most of the primary sources are yet to appear; only a few brief comments can be offered here. (Cf. also the somewhat more detailed account of the textual situation in *EinC*, 1973, 399–413.)

The following are the most important manuscripts containing poems supposedly by Wyatt (I use Muir and Thomson's abbreviations):

1. Egerton MS. 2711 (British Museum)	E
2. Devonshire MS. Add. 17492 (B.M.)	D
3. The 'Blage' MS.D.2.7. (Trinity College, Dublin)	B
4. Arundel (Arundel Castle)	A
5. Harleian MS. 78 (B.M.)	H
6. Parker MS. 168 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)	C
7. Hill MS.Add. 36529 (B.M.)	P
8. Royal MS. 17^{A}, xxii (B.M.)	R

The following are the chief printed sources:

1. Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557)	T
2. *The Court of Venus* (*c.* 1538 and 1563)	V
3. *A Boke of Balettes* (*c.* 1548)	BB
4. *Certayne Psalmes* (1550)	Q
5. *Nugae Antiquae* (1769, 1775, 1804)	N

So far, the most thorough descriptions of E and D are those by Southall in SCM. Hughey, in her edition of A, discusses that MS. fully, and contributes much material on P, N, T, and E also.

E is the most authoritative MS. It contains a number of poems in Wyatt's hand (cf. Appendix). From this it is often inferred that W owned the MS., but the assumption is without foundation, even though several other poems are corrected by W. It is not always possible to be sure whether a correction is

W's or someone else's (certainly more than one hand undertook revisions), but where I feel that corrections are by W I have recorded that impression. Poems in W's hand are probably his (particularly because he was in the habit of revising them), and poems in someone else's hand but corrected by W may well be, though corrections are not confined to him.

Many poems, particularly at the beginning of the MS., are not in W's hand, and several of these are not corrected by him. Their authorship is more doubtful, though such evidence as we have points in W's direction. There are poems bearing the ascription 'Tho', almost certainly for 'Thomas'. The poet himself may have been responsible for these ascriptions, or else, quite likely, someone close to him. If these ascriptions are to be trusted, the authorial status of the remaining poems is somewhat ambiguous. A group is ascribed 'Wyat'; Southall thinks by the poet Nicholas Grimald (who also appears in T), but I rather tend to doubt this. (Certainly Grimald is responsible for some of the revisions and punctuation marks.) Some of the poems are unascribed. It is nevertheless possible that all the E poems are W's, and I think that the evidence favours those who think that they are. Apart from the facts mentioned, it should be pointed out that E differs significantly from, say, D, in that D contains many poems, at various points, known to be not by W; that some other sources (D, H, T) ascribe E poems to W (T, particularly, of course need not be reliable, though it is significant that in T_2 a 'W' poem was transferred to the section 'Uncertain Authors'); and that E contains many 'translations' of the kind known to be W's.

Since the order of the poems in E may to some extent be important chronologically, it has been retained, except that I follow MT in detaching CV–CVIII.

D is presumably the second most important MS. Several poems in it are ascribed to W, either in D itself, or elsewhere (E, T). The D poems that occur also in E in most cases can be shown or assumed to be versions earlier than E's final ones. There are several readings in D which correspond to E readings later rejected by W. D is thus likely to offer readings

which do not represent W's final intentions, but which are at least close to what he once wrote. However, poem XCVIII is an exception, the E version being textually earlier than D's.

D shows the typical history of a court album. The MS. went from one hand to another, from scribe to scribe and from reader to reader. For this reason, and because D (like other MSS. but unlike E) contains many poems not by W, there is no particularly good reason for assuming that unascribed poems which happen to look like W's, in some or many respects, are his. Until they can be shown to be, they are strictly anonymous. If all such poems, from D and other MSS., had been included in this edition, it would have been much too big (one might have included even more poems than previous editors), and this volume is to present Wyatt's poems rather than a collection of anonymous ones. I have nevertheless included a number of unascribed poems, chiefly for their interest, but also because some, at least, might be W's. Except in the case of E, unascribed poems are printed separately.

Very little is known about B, which in MT is preferred to D. The MS. was at some stage in the hands of Sir George Blage, a friend of W's who was with him in Spain, but this by itself lends little special authority to B, and it is quite possible that Blage did not first own the MS. but got possession of it sometime in the 1540s and realized that it was not a collection of Wyatt poems (cf. Richard Harrier, *RenQ*, 1970, 471–4). There are in fact very few poems in B which by any scholarly criterion can safely be attributed to W. Comparison with E shows that B is reasonably close to it, but there are many important departures. Nothing is known about the authority of readings unique to B, and though one or two of them may look superior to D's, we appear to be on safer ground with D.

Ruth Hughey has shown that A almost certainly derives from E, and that its variants represent later, editorial tampering. Several of them are identical to T's, and there must be a fairly direct connection between A and T, but it is not clear of what kind.

H provides only few poems not found elsewhere. However,

comparison with E indicates that it is highly reliable if E is. It usefully ascribes poems to W.

C contains a good version of CV, and a superior one of a T poem (CLXVII).

P has roughly speaking as much or as little authority as A, with which it has much in common (cf., e.g., MEW, 31 ff.), though it provides few poems.

R contains only a very good version of CVIII; it is helpful in the reconstruction of lines 100–53.

The printed sources are generally of less value. T provides some poems not found elsewhere, and many that are. Collation with E and other MSS. reveals that T derives from one or more excellent sources, but contains many variants that are the product of an editorial process characterized by a taste very different from W's own. The lyrics have been least affected. The second edition (T2) shows independence of the first and may sometimes be better, but little is known about its authority. Later editions of T are increasingly degenerate. T has been superbly edited by H. E. Rollins. Cf. also the facsimile reprint of T1, *Songes and Sonettes (Tottel's Miscellany) 1557*, by The Scolar Press Ltd. (Menston, 1967).

The fragments of V and BB have little to recommend themselves to the editor of W. The texts of the poems, unlike those in T1, are printed very badly, and they appear to be unreliable. Fortunately we need almost never use them. They have been thoroughly edited by Russell A. Fraser under the title *The Court of Venus* (Durham, N.C., 1955). (However, the relationship with B and other primary sources needs to be reconsidered, and cf. Charles A. Huttar, *SB*, 1966, 181–95.)

Like R, Q need only be used in the reconstruction of lines 100–53 of CVIII. However, it is inferior to A and especially R, as comparison with E shows (cf. MEW, 149). It was brought out by Thomas Raynald and John Harrington.

The N poems may have been set up from leaves now missing in A (cf. Hughey, I, 375 ff.).

There is a good deal of important Wyatt material missing. Even for this reason alone the text we construct must needs be tentative. On the other hand, it is plain that we have some very good manuscript material (part of it in the poet's hand), and other texts which we can be reasonably sure are less reliable. Although the hierarchy of texts is not entirely certain, instances where two or more versions seriously compete with each other for our attention are in practice rare.

In almost all instances it has not been difficult to decide which version should be selected as the copy text for a poem. In one or two cases (cf. Appendix), the text produced here is the result of conflation. In a number of instances, I have had to depart from the copy text. Obvious scribal errors have been silently corrected, but where the copy text might be right, where I have felt that a variant should be considered, and where I have not been able to make up my mind, I have presented the relevant facts—the most important of them in the footnotes, others in the Selected Textual Notes. An effort has been made to record all significant departures; however, most of them are readings supplied by other primary sources where the copy text is clearly defective, and the few editorial emendations are generally neither new, nor, I imagine, controversial. As far as substantial readings are concerned, the primary sources have been conservatively treated.

However, the text has been modernized, and consistently so, since otherwise it would have looked like a curious mixture of modern English and archaisms.[1] A few old forms have been retained for, e.g., prosodic reasons. Final *-e* has not been, since there are strong indications that it was not sounded (but in XI, 4, MS. *nede* represents our *needy*).[2] Final *-es* has been selectively preserved.

Thorough account has been taken of the punctuation in the primary sources, but the punctuation here provided, though sometimes a translation of that in the MSS., is editorial, and modern. It differs drastically from what is found in previous editions of W, though it seems to me that Nott often interprets

[1] For convenience, quotations from ML have also been modernized.

[2] Once or twice (cf., e.g., CVII, 24) MS. *withoute* is perhaps an error for *withouten*.

W's syntax correctly where subsequent editors do not.[1]

To distinguish authentic titles from editorial ones, the former have been printed in italics.

In general, the aim has been to make W accessible to today's readers by modernizing the text and punctuating it, but otherwise to be faithful to the best primary sources.

[1] Except, occasionally, Gerald Bullett, ed., *Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947; repr. 1962).
Postscript: since the above was written, and after this edition had already gone to the press, R. L. Greene's note (*RES*, 1974, pp. 437–9) about MT's CCXX has reached me. Greene's valuable information does not persuade me that the anonymous poem is by W; on the contrary, the writer is more likely to be Anne Boleyn or her brother George.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviations of the chief primary sources, see Note on the Text, p. xxi.

Baldi	Sergio Baldi, *La Poesia di Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Florence, 1953).
Camp.	Ioannis Campensis; cf. Appendix, CVIII.
Chambers	E. K. Chambers, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies* (London, 1933; repr. New York, 1965).
CC	Cambridge Univ. MS., ff. 5, 14. (Cf. F. D. Hoeniger, *N & Q*, 1957, 103–4.)
CT	Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*. (Cf. Robinson.)
EinC	*Essays in Criticism*.
ELN	*English Language Notes*.
EM	*English Miscellany*.
F	A. K. Foxwell, ed., *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, 2 vols. (London, 1913; repr. New York, 1964).
Flügel	Ewald Flügel, ed., 'Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Gedichte Von Sir Thomas Wyatt', *Anglia*, 18 (1896), 263–90, 455–516; 19 (1897), 175–210.
FMLS	*Forum for Modern Language Studies*.
FS	A. K. Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems* (London, 1911; repr. New York, 1964).
GG	H. E. Rollins, ed., *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926).
Grimald	Nicholas Grimald; cf. Note on the Text, p. xxii.
Hughey	Ruth Hughey, ed., *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 vols. (Columbus, Ohio, 1960).
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.
Jones, Emrys, ed.	*Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Poems* (Oxford, 1964).
Kökeritz	Helge Kökeritz, 'Dialectal Traits in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poetry', in *Franciplegius*, ed. J. B. Bessinger Jr. and R. P. Creed (London, 1965).
LGW	Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*. (Cf. Robinson.)
M	Kenneth Muir, ed., *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London, 1949; 4th impr., 1963).
Mason	H. A. Mason, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1959).
Maxwell	J. C. Maxwell, review of MT, *N & Q*, 1969, 465–7.
MEW	H. A. Mason, *Editing Wyatt* (Cambridge, 1972).

ML	Kenneth Muir, *The Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool, 1963).
MT	Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson, eds., *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool, 1969).
N.E.D.	See *OED*.
Nott	G. F. Nott, ed., *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder*, 2 vols. (London, 1815–16; repr. New York, 1965).
N & Q	*Notes and Queries*.
ODEP	*The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1970).
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*.
Padelford	F. M. Padelford, ed., *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* (Boston, 1907).
Petrarch, *Rime*	Francesco Petrarca, *Le Rime*, ed. G. Carducci and S. Ferrari (Florence, 1899; repr. 1957).
PF	Chaucer, *The Parliament of Fowls*. (Cf. Robinson.)
QM	W's *The Quyete of Mynde* (MT, 440–63). Cf. also fac. ed. Charles R. Baskervill (Cambridge, 1931).
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*.
RES	*The Review of English Studies*.
Robbins	R. H. Robbins, ed., *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1955; repr. 1968).
Robinson	F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (2nd ed., London, 1957).
Rollins	H. E. Rollins, ed., *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557–1587), 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1928 and 1929; rev. ed. 1965).
RR	Chaucer, *The Romaunt of the Rose*. (Cf. Robinson.)
S	Raymond Southall (see SCM below); also in private communications.
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*.
SCM	Raymond Southall, *The Courtly Maker* (Oxford, 1964).
Serafino, *Opere*	*Opere dello Elegantissimo Poeta Seraphino Aquilano* (Florence, 1516). Cf. also Barbara Bauer-Formiconi, ed., *Die Strambotti des Serafino dall' Aquila* (München, 1967).
ST	Raymond Southall, transcripts of E and D in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Birmingham University, 1961).
Stevens	John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961).
T & C	Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*. (Cf. Robinson.)
Thomson	Patricia Thomson, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background* (London and Stanford, 1964).
Tilley	M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950).
Tillyard	E. M. W. Tillyard, ed., *The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt: a Selection and a Study* (London, 1929; rev. ed. 1949).

TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*.
TSSL	*Texas Studies in Literature and Language*.
W	Wyatt.
Whiting	B. J. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).
WMT	William Tydeman, ed., *English Poetry 1400–1580* (London, 1970).
Z	British Museum Add. MS. 18752. Cf. Appendix, CLXXXII.

I

POEMS FROM THE EGERTON MANUSCRIPT

I

Behold, Love, thy power how she despiseth!
My great pain how little she regardeth!
The holy oath, whereof she taketh no cure,
Broken she hath, and yet she bideth sure,
Right at her ease, and little she dreadeth.
Weaponed thou art, and she unarmed sitteth;
To thee disdainful her life she leadeth,
To me spiteful without cause or measure:
Behold, Love!

I am in hold: if pity thee moveth,
Go bend thy bow, that stony hearts breaketh,
And with some stroke revenge the displeasure
Of thee and him that sorrow doth endure,
And as his lord thee lowly entreateth:
Behold, Love!

II

What 'vaileth truth? Or by it to take pain?
To strive by steadfastness for to attain
To be just, true, and flee from doubleness?
Sithens all alike where ruleth craftiness:
Rewarded is both false and plain,
Soonest he speedeth that most can feign,
True meaning heart is had in disdain.
Against deceit and doubleness
What 'vaileth truth?

Deceived is he by crafty train
That meaneth no guile, and doth remain

3 *oath*: of loyalty in a 'mistress'–'servant' relationship.
3 *cure*: care, heed. 4 *bideth sure*: remains unconcerned.
10 *in hold*: in prison (fig.). Cf., e.g., Robbins, poem 136, 37; poem 160, 5.
11 *hearts*: MS *hertes*; possibly disyllabic. 12 *displeasure*: injury; wrong.

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10 *train*: deceit.

Within the trap without redress.
But for to love, lo, such a mistress,
Whose cruelty nothing can refrain,
What 'vaileth truth?

III

Caesar when that the traitor of Egypt
With the honourable head did him present,
Covering his gladness, did represent
Plaint with his tears outward, as it is writ;
And Hannibal eke when fortune him shut
Clean from his reign, and from all his intent,
Laughed to his folk whom sorrow did torment,
His cruel despite for to disgorge and quit.
So chanceth it oft: that every passion
The mind hideth by colour contrary,
With feigned visage now sad now merry.
Whereby if I laughed any time or season,
It is for because I have no other way
To cloak my care but under sport and play.

IV

The long love that in my thought doth harbour
And in mine heart doth keep his residence,
Into my face presseth with bold pretence,
And therein campeth, spreading his banner.

12 *redress*: remedy.
13 *But*: T and Nott seem to agree that this is independent of *redress* (12), which in E is followed by a point. However, it is possible to read 10–14 as one sentence.

1 *the . . . Egypt*: Ptolemy XII (r. 51–47 B.C.).
2 *the . . . head*: Pompey's. After losing the civil war between him and Caesar, P. fled to Egypt, where, however, he was killed. 3 *represent*: show.
5 *shut*: MS. *shitt*, rhyming with *writ* (4). 14 *care*: grief.

1 *harbour*: lodge, encamp (in hiding). Or perhaps a metaphor from hunting: a stag is said to harbour in its regular retreat, cf. *OED*. II. 8 (Buxton).

She that me learneth to love and suffer
And will that my trust and lust's negligence
Be reined by reason, shame and reverence,
With his hardiness taketh displeasure.
Wherewithal unto the heart's forest he fleeth,
Leaving his enterprise with pain and cry,
And there him hideth, and not appeareth.
What may I do, when my master feareth,
But in the field with him to live and die?
For good is the life ending faithfully.

V

Alas the grief and deadly woeful smart,
The careful chance, shapen afore my shirt,
The sorrowful tears, the sighes hot as fire,
That cruel love hath long soaked from mine heart!
And for reward of over-great desire
Disdainful doubleness have I for my hire!

O lost service! O pain ill rewarded!
O pitiful heart, with pain enlarged!
O faithful mind, too suddenly assented!
Return, alas, sithens thou art not regarded;
Too great a proof of true faith presented
Causeth by right such faith to be repented.

O cruel causer of undeserved change!
By great desire unconstantly to range—
Is this your way for proof of steadfastness?
Perdie you know (the thing was not so strange)
By former proof too much my faithfulness:
What needeth then such coloured doubleness?

6 *will*: wishes (It. *vòl*).
6 *lust's negligence*: 'the careless confidence (Padelford) caused by my lust'; MS. may have *lustie*. 8 *displeasure*: umbrage. 9 *fleeth*: MS. *fleith* (disyllabic).
14 'For the life which ends with faithful service is good.'

2 *careful*: sorrowful. 2 *shapen . . . shirt*: 'created before my shirt was'; proverbial, cf., e.g., Chaucer, *CT*, A1566.

I have wailed thus weeping in nightly pain,
In sobs and sighs, alas, and all in vain,
In inward plaint, and heart's woeful torment,
And yet alas, lo, cruelty and disdain
Have set at nought a faithful true intent,
And price hath privilege truth to prevent.

But though I starve, and to my death still mourn,
And piecemeal in pieces though I be torn,
And though I die, yielding my wearied ghost,
Shall never thing again make me return:
I quit the enterprise of that that I have lost
To whomsoever lust for to proffer most.

VI

(fragment)

But sithens you it essay to kill
By cruelty and doubleness,
That that was yours you seek to spill
Against all right and gentleness,
And sithens you will, even so I will.

And then alas when no redress
Can be, too late, ye shall repent,
And say yourself with words express:
'Alas, an heart of true intent
Slain have I by unfaithfulness.'

23 *intent*: endeavour.
24 *price*: probably Henry VIII's wealth, which gives him the privilege of purchasing Anne Boleyn's affection, to the injury of W's true love (Nott). Cf. 30, but also F and MT.
25 *starve*: die (from lack of love).
29 *enterprise*: management.
30 *lust*: likes (subjunctive).

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3 *spill*: destroy, kill.

VII

Whoso list to hunt: I know where is an hind.
But as for me, alas I may no more:
The vain travail hath wearied me so sore,
I am of them that farthest cometh behind.
Yet may I by no means my wearied mind
Draw from the deer, but as she fleeth afore
Fainting I follow. I leave off therefore,
Sithens in a net I seek to hold the wind.
Who list her hunt, I put him out of doubt,
As well as I may spend his time in vain,
And graven with diamonds in letters plain
There is written her fair neck round about:
'*Noli me tangere*, for Caesar's I am,
And wild for to hold, though I seem tame.'

VIII

Mine old dear enemy, my froward master,
Afore that Queen I caused to be accited

This, as Nott and others have remarked, seems an unmistakable reference to Henry VIII's capture of Anne Boleyn, and was probably written in 1527 or before.
2 *may*: can. Cf. ML, 87, 'I can no more'.
8: Proverbial, cf. Tilley, W416.
9 *I . . . doubt*: 'I can assure him' (*put out of* = remove); cf. *RR*, 2102 (WMT).
11–12: Cf. Hawes, *Passetyme of Pleasure*, 169–71.
11 *diamonds*: in Petrarch symbolic of chastity, but in W perhaps of hardness.
13: *Noli me tangere* was said by Christ to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection; the motto was held 'to be inscribed on the collars of Caesar's hinds so that they were were left alone' (MT), and had become traditional. *Caesar's*: presumably here Henry VIII (the 'price' of V, 24?). Petrarch means that Laura will return to God after a short earthly life. Cf. also Matthew 22:21.
14: Nott finds this line (not in Petrarch) an appropriate comment on Anne Boleyn.

This may have been written at the same time as V and VII, if 'price' (140) refers to Henry VIII. Cf. V, 24. 1: Cupid.
2 *that Queen*: Reason.
2 *accited*: summoned.

Which holdeth the divine part of nature,
That like as gold in fire he might be tried.
Charged with dolour, there I me presented
With horrible fear, as one that greatly dreadeth
A wrongful death, and justice alway seeketh.

And thus I said: 'Once my left foot, Madame,
When I was young I set within his reign,
Whereby other than firely burning flame
I never felt, but many a grievous pain;
Torment I suffered, anger and disdain,
That mine oppressed patience was passed,
And I mine own life hated at the last.

Thus hitherto have I my time passed
In pain and smart. What ways profitable,
How many pleasant days, have me escaped
In serving this false liar so deceivable?
What wit hath words so prest and forcible
That may contain my great mishappiness
And just complaints of his ungentleness?

O, small honey, much aloes and gall!
In bitterness hath my blind life tasted
His false sweetness that turneth as a ball,
With the amorous dance hath made me traced.
And where I had my thought and mind araced
From all earthly frailness and vain pleasure,
He took me from rest, and set me in error.

3 *the . . . nature*: reason (T: 'of *our* nature'). 4 *tried*: refined.
8 *my left foot*: acc. to Vellutello the left foot is sense or appetite (cf. MT).
9 *reign*: kingdom. 10 *firely*: fierily, ardently. 18 *deceivable*: deceitful.
19–20: 'What talent has words so prompt and powerful that it can contain my great unhappiness?' Cf. Petrarch, and 36–39.
23–25: '"In bitterness has my blind life tasted his [the lord of Love's] false sweetness which has drawn me into (or with) the amorous dance." W adds the proverbial phrase *that torneth as a ball* (cf. Tilley, W901)' (MT). *Dance*: cf. 'loves daunce' (*T & C*, II, 1106), and Stevens, 360, 'thowe I do fere to trace [= participate in] that dawnce'.
26 *araced*: lifted forcefully; cf. It. *sollevarmi*. 28, 123 *error*: wandering (lit.).

He hath made me regard God much less than I ought,
And to myself to take right little heed,
And for a woman have I set at nought
All other thoughts, in this only to speed.
And he was only counsellor of this deed,
Always whetting my youthly desire
On the cruel whetstone, tempered with fire.

But alas where now had I ever wit,
Or else any other gift given me of nature,
That soon shall change my wearied sprite
Than the obstinate will that is my ruler?
So robbeth my liberty with displeasure
This wicked traitor, whom I thus accuse,
That bitter life hath turned me in pleasant use.

He hath chased me thorough divers regions,
Thorough desert woods, and sharp high mountains,
Thorough froward people, and strait pressions,
Thorough rocky seas, over hills and plains,
With weary travail and laborious pains,
Always in trouble and in tediousness,
In all error and dangerous distress.

But neither he nor she, my t'other foe,
For all my flight did ever me forsake:
That though timely death hath been too slow,
That as yet it hath me not overtake
The heavenly goodness of pity do it slake,
And not this cruel extreme tyranny
That feedeth him with my care and misery.

40 *displeasure*: sorrow.
42: 'That my bitter life has, out of habit, become pleasant.'
45 *strait pressions*: tight pressures (MT). *Pressions* is a French borrowing.
48 *trouble*: grief, affliction. 48 *tediousness*: pain.
53–55: 'If death have not already overtaken me, this is owing to the pity of [heavenly goodness], and not to any abatement of cruelty on the part of Love' (Nott). 56 *care*: grief.

Since I was his, hour rested I never,
Nor look for to do, and eke the waky nights
The banished sleep may nowise recover.
By deceit and by force over my sprites
He is ruler, and since there never bell strikes,
Where I am, that I hear not, my plaints to renew.
And he himself he knoweth that that I say is true.

For never worms have an old stock eaten
As he my heart, where he is alway resident
And doth the same with death daily threaten.
Thence come the tears, and the bitter torment,
The sighs, the words, and eke the languishment,
That annoy both me and peradventure other:
Judge thou, that knowest the one and the other.'

Mine adversary with grievous reproof
Thus he began: 'Hear, lady, the other part,
That the plain truth from which he draweth aloof,
This unkind man, shall show ere that I part.
In young age I took him from that art
That selleth words and maketh a clattering knight,
And of my wealth I gave him the delight.

Now shameth he not on me for to complain
That held him evermore in pleasant game
From his desire, that might have been his pain.
Yet only thereby I brought him to some frame
Which as wretchedness he doth greatly blame,
And toward honour I quickened his wit,
Where else as a daskard he might have sit.

70 *the . . . other*: i.e. both Love and me.
73–74: 'Which shall, before I leave, reveal the plain truth from which he, this ungrateful man, deviates.'
76 *selleth*: 'palms off false words as true' (Rollins).
77, 136 *wealth*: well-being.
81 *frame*: state of order; profit.
84 *daskard*: (i.e. *dastard*) dullard, sot.

He knoweth that Atrides, that made Troy fret,
And Hannibal, to Rome so troublous,
Whom Homer honoured, Achilles that great,
And the African Scipion the famous,
And many other by much virtue glorious
Whose fame and honour did bring them above,
I did let fall in base dishonest love.

And unto him, though he no deals worthy were,
I chose right the best of many a million,
That under the moon was never her peer
Of wisdom, womanhood, and discretion;
And of my grace I gave her such a fashion,
And eke such a way I taught her for to teach,
That never base thought his heart might have reach.

Evermore thus to content his mistress,
That was his only frame of honesty.
I stirred him still toward gentleness,
And caused him to regard fidelity;
Patience I taught him in adversity.
Such virtues he learned in my great school,
Whereof he repenteth, the ignorant fool.

These were the deceits and the bitter gall
That I have used, the torment and the anger,
Sweeter than for to enjoy any other in all.

85 *Atrides*: Agamemnon, son of Atreus.
86 *troublous*: causing grief. MS. *trobelous*, trisyllabic.
87 *Whom . . . honoured*: i.e. Achilles.
88: Scipio Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal (86).
91 *dishonest*: dishonourable; unchaste. 92 *no deals*: not at all.
94 *under the moon*: in this sublunary sphere, on earth.
98 *reach*: the syntax is obscure, and hardly explained by the It. As T implies, *base thought* seems to be the subject. Perhaps: '*to* his heart might have reach'? Or *reach=reached*. The idea is the frequent one that the courtly lover is purified morally by serving a superior mistress.
100 *frame of honesty*: form of decency. Cf. ML, 38. 101 *gentleness*: courtesy.
108: 'Sweeter than whatever else could be enjoyed in any other woman.'

Of right good seed ill fruit I gather,
And so hath he that the unkind doth further.
I nourish a serpent under my wing,
And of his nature now 'ginneth he to sting.

And for to tell at last my great service,
From thousand dishonesties I have him drawn,
That by my means in no manner of wise
Never vile pleasure hath him overthrown,
Where in his deed shame hath him always gnawn,
Doubting report that should come to her ear:
Whom now he accuseth, he wonted to fear.

Whatsoever he hath of any honest custom,
Of her and me that holdeth he every whit.
But lo, there was never nightly phantom
So far in error as he is from his wit
To plain on us: he striveth with the bit
Which may rule him, and do him pleasure and pain,
And in one hour make all his grief remain.

But one thing there is above all other:
I gave him wings, wherewith he might fly
To honour and fame, and if he would farther,
By mortal things, above the starry sky:
Considering the pleasure that an eye
Might give in earth, by reason of his love,
What should that be that lasteth still above?

109: Cf. XXIX, 14.
111 *a serpent*: i.e. an ungrateful and treacherous being. Proverbial expression, cf. XLIX, 5.
118 *Doubting*: fearing.
123 *wit*: 'right mind'.
124 *striveth . . . bit*: cf. Tilley, B424.
130 *By:* through (It. *Per*).
131–3: 'Considering the pleasure which an eye, by virtue of its love, can instil into others even here on earth, what must everlasting pleasure in Heaven be like?'

And he the same himself hath said or this,
But now forgotten is both that and I,
That gave her him, his only wealth and bliss.'
And at this word, with deadly shright and cry,
'Thou gave her me,' quod I, 'but by and by
Thou took her straight from me, that woe worth thee!'
'Not I,' quod he, 'but price that is well worthy.'

At last both each for himself concluded,
I trembling, but he with small reverence:
'Lo thus as we have now each other accused,
Dear lady, we wait only thy sentence.'
She smiling, after this said audience,
'It liketh me,' quod she, 'to have heard your question.
But longer time doth ask resolution.'

IX

Was I never yet of your love grieved,
Nor never shall, while that my life doth last,
But of hating myself that date is past,
And tears continual sore have me wearied.
I will not yet in my grave be buried,
Nor on my tomb your name yfixed fast,
As cruel cause that did the spirit soon haste
From the unhappy bones, by great sighs stirred.

137 *shright*: shriek. 139 *worth*: befall. Cf., e.g., WMT, 41.
140 *price*: cf. V, 24. Nott hesitated between Petrarch's 'He (God) who willed to take her to himself' and 'a richer rival'. The second suggestion is supported by H. Howarth (*Italica*, 1964, 80–81), who argues that the rival is Henry VIII taking Anne Boleyn.
145 *after . . . audience*: as Nott saw, this phrase is not part of Petrarch's quoted matter, and fits well into 145.
147: 'But finding an answer requires more time.'

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1 *of your love*: by loving you. 1 *grieved*: cf. CXVII, 5.
6 *yfixed*: fixed. The *y* is a past participle prefix, rare in Wyatt (Kökeritz notes only four instances of its use), perhaps taken from Chaucer, apparently archaic, and probably a metrical filler.

Then if an heart of amorous faith and will
May content you, without doing grief,
Please it you so to this to do relief.
If other wise ye seek for to fulfil
Your disdain, ye err, and shall not as ye ween:
And ye yourself the cause thereof hath been.

X

Each man me telleth I change most my device,
And on my faith me think it good reason
To change propose like after the season,
For in every case to keep still one guise
Is meet for them that would be taken wise:
And I am not of such manner condition,
But treated after a diverse fashion,
And thereupon my diverseness doth rise.
But you that blame this diverseness most,
Change you no more, but still after one rate
Treat ye me well, and keep ye in the same state:
And while with me doth dwell this wearied ghost,
My word nor I shall not be variable,
But always one, your own both firm and stable.

XI

Farewell, the reign of cruelty!
Though that with pain my liberty
Dear have I bought, yet shall surety
Conduct my thought of joys needy.

12 *other wise*: another manner (object of *seek*); cf. Baldi, 220.

1 *device*: purpose (but see *OED*).
2–3: Proverbial, cf. *ODEP*, p. 900 (Tilley, M431), particularly *Precepts of Cato* (1545), 'In a wyse man it is no maner of cryme, His maners to chaunge, accordynge to the tyme.' 3 *propose*: i.e. purpose.
4–5: Cf. *ODEP*, p. 900 (Tilley, M420), 'A wise man changes his mind, a fool never.' 4 *guise*: 'course of life' (Hughey).
14 *always one*: always one and the same; cf. *semper idem*.

1 *reign*: MS. *rayn*, possibly=*rein*, cf. IV, 7 and XCV, 7.
3 *surety*: security (from danger, an enemy).
4 *needy*: i.e. *thought* (cf. Baldi, 220).

Of force I must forsake pleasure,
A good cause just, since I endure
Thereby my woe, which be ye sure
Shall therewith go, me to recure.

I fare as one escaped that fleeth,
Glad that is gone, yet still feareth
Spied to be caught, and so dreadeth
That he for nought his pain leseth.

In joyful pain rejoice, mine heart,
Thus to sustain of each a part.
Let not this song from thee astart:
Welcome among my pleasant smart.

XII

If amorous faith, in heart unfeigned,
A sweet languor, a great lovely desire,
If honest will, kindled in gentle fire,
If long error, in a blind maze chained,
If in my visage each thought depainted,
Or else in my sparkling voice lower or higher
Which now fear, now shame woefully doth tire,
If a pale colour, which love hath stained,
If to have another than myself more dear,
If wailing or sighing continually,
With sorrowful anger feeding busily,
If burning afar off, and freezing near,
Are cause that by love myself I destroy:
Yours is the fault, and mine the great annoy.

8 *recure*: cure.
9–11 *I . . . caught*: 'I go like one who is fleeing after having escaped, glad that he's gone, but always afraid that he's spied on in order to be caught.'
9 *fleeth*: MS. *fleith*, disyllabic. 12 *leseth*: loses.
14 *each*: i.e. joy and pain. 15 *astart*: escape.

2 *lovely*: loving. 4 *error*: wandering.
6 *sparkling*: producing scattered sounds (It. *interrotte*).
14 *annoy*: injury; sadness. Cf. It. *danno*, and Chaucer.

XIII

Farewell Love, and all thy laws for ever!
Thy baited hooks shall tangle me no more:
Senec and Plato call me from thy lore,
To perfect wealth my wit for to endeavour.
In blind error when I did persever,
Thy sharp repulse, that pricketh aye so sore,
Hath taught me to set in trifles no store,
And 'scape forth, since liberty is liever.
Therefore farewell! Go trouble younger hearts,
And in me claim no more authority;
With idle youth go use thy property,
And thereon spend thy many brittle darts:
For hitherto though I have lost all my time,
Me lusteth no longer rotten boughs to climb.

XIV

My heart I gave thee, not to do it pain,
But to preserve it was to thee taken.
I served thee, not to be forsaken,
But that I should be rewarded again.
I was content thy servant to remain,
But not to be paid under this fashion.
Now since in thee is none other reason,
Displease thee not if that I do refrain:

3 *Senec*: Seneca, the Roman stoic philosopher (*c.* 4 B.C.–A.D. 65). W's poems are sometimes influenced by him, and W recommended him to the attention of his son (Nott; cf. ML, 43).
4: 'To apply my intelligence to achieving perfect happiness' (WMT).
8 *liever*: dearer.
11 *property*: instrument (i.e. the bow).
14 *no . . . climb*: proverbial (Nott), cf. Tilley, B557. *Me lusteth*: I like.

2 *taken*: entrusted.
8 *refrain*: give up; withdraw.

Unsatiate of my woe and thy desire,
Assured by craft to excuse thy fault!
But since it please thee to feign a default,
Farewell I say, parting from the fire:
For he that believeth bearing in hand
Plougheth in water, and soweth in the sand.

XV

For to love her for her looks lovely
My heart was set in thought right firmly,
Trusting by truth to have had redress.
But she hath made another promise,
And hath given me leave full honestly.
Yet I do not rejoice it greatly,
For on my faith I loved too surely.
But reason will that I do cease
For to love her.

Since that in love the pains been deadly,
Me think it best that readily
I do return to my first address,
For at this time too great is the press,
And perils appear too abundantly
For to love her.

10: 'Presumptuous enough to excuse your fault with deceitful cunning.'
11 *feign*: conceal.
13: 'For he who believes in being deluded by false promises . . .' Cf. CXXXVI, 23.
14: Proverbial (F; cf. Rollins). See also Tilley, S87, S184.

4 *another*: to another. I.e. Henry VIII?
5 *given me leave*: permitted me to go. Cf. XXXVII, 18.
7 *surely*: confidently.
8 *will*: demands. Cf. Marot's 'la raison *ordonne*'.
12 *my first address*: 'the attitude I adopted towards her at first'.
13 *press*: either 'throng (of rivals)' (but cf. *another*, 4), or 'pressure, distress', or 'exertion' (cf. LXXI, 9).

XVI

There was never file half so well filed
To file a file for every smith's intent,
As I was made a filing instrument
To frame other, while I was beguiled.
But reason hath at my folly smiled,
And pardons me, since that I me repent
Of my lost years and time misspent,
For youth did me lead, and falsehood guided.
Yet this trust I have of full great appearance:
Since that deceit is aye returnable,
Of very force it is agreeable
That therewithal be done the recompense.
Then guile beguiled plained should be never,
And the reward little trust for ever.

XVII

Help me to seek, for I lost it there,
And if that ye have found it, ye that be here,
And seek to convey it secretly,
Handle it soft, and treat it tenderly,
Or else it will plain and then appair.
But rather restore it mannerly,
Since that I do ask it thus honestly.
For to lose it, it sitteth me too near:
Help me to seek.

Alas, and is there no remedy,
But have I thus lost it wilfully?

1 ff. *file*: (noun) 1 the instrument for polishing, 2 deceiver; (verb) 1 to polish, 2 deceive, 3 defile.
2 *intent*: use; scheme. 4 *frame*: 1 shape, 2 benefit, serve.
9: 'But I have one hope which looks very promising.'
11–12: 'It (deceit) is automatically suitable for one to requite deceit with it.'

3 *convey*: perhaps 'steal' (Nott).
5 *plain*: i.e. complain; *appair*: pine away. 11 *wilfully*: willingly; unwisely.

Iwis it was a thing all too dear
To be bestowed and wist not where:
It was mine heart—I pray you heartily
Help me to seek.

XVIII

If it be so that I forsake thee
As banished from thy company,
Yet my heart, my mind, and mine affection
Shall still remain in thy perfection,
And right as thou list so order me.
But some would say in their opinion
Revulsed is thy good intention:
Then may I well blame thy cruelty,
If it be so.

But myself I say on this fashion:
I have her heart in my possession,
And of itself there cannot, perdie,
By no means love an heartless body,
And on my faith, good is the reason
If it be so.

XIX

Thou hast no faith of him that hath none,
But thou must love him needs by reason,
For as sayeth a proverb notable,
Each thing seeketh his semblable,
And thou hast thine of thy condition.
Yet is it not the thing I pass on,
Nor hot nor cold of mine affection;
For since thine heart is so mutable
Thou hast no faith.

12 *Iwis*: truly.

7 *Revulsed*: violently turned away from me.

1 *of*: in.
4: Proverbial (Rollins), cf. Tilley, L286. *His semblable*: its like (cf. MEW, 175, Lydgate ref.). 5: 'And your disposition (or: state) has found its like.'
6–9: Though likes attract each other, the lady's disposition is her own.

I thought thee true without exception,
But I perceive I lacked discretion
To fashion faith to words mutable:
Thy thought is too light and variable—
To change so oft without occasion
Thou hast no faith.

XX

Go, burning sighs, unto the frozen heart!
Go break the ice with pity painful dart
Might never pierce, and if mortal prayer
In heaven may be heard, at last I desire
That death or mercy be end of my smart.
Take with thee pain whereof I have my part,
And eke the flame from which I cannot start,
And leave me then in rest, I you require:
Go, burning sighs!

I must go work, I see, by craft and art,
For truth and faith in her is laid apart.
Alas, I cannot therefore assail her
With pitiful plaint and scalding fire
That out of my breast doth strainably start:
Go, burning sighs!

XXI

It may be good, like it who list,
But I do doubt: who can me blame?
For oft assured yet have I missed,
And now again I fear the same:
The windy words, the eyes' quaint game,

2–3 *Go . . . pierce*: 'With an appeal to pity, go and break the ice which Cupid's painful dart has never yet been able to pierce.' Grimald reads *which pites*, and D *with piteus*, but E's reading makes excellent sense.
8 *require*: implore. 11 *laid apart*: dismissed. 12 *assail*: also 'woo'.
13 *fire*: MS. *fyer*, disyllabic. 14 *strainably*: compulsively; violently.

5 *windy*: i.e. 'wavering as the wind' (cf. Tilley, W412), changeable.
5 *quaint*: crafty.

Of sudden change maketh me aghast:
For dread to fall I stand not fast.

Alas, I tread an endless maze
That seeketh to accord two contraries
And hope still, and nothing has,
Imprisoned in liberties,
As one unheard and still that cries,
Always thirsty, and yet nothing I taste:
For dread to fall I stand not fast.

Assured I doubt I be not sure;
And should I trust to such surety
That oft hath put the proof in ure
And never hath found it trusty?
Nay, sir, in faith it were great folly.
And yet my life thus do I waste:
For dread to fall I stand not fast.

XXII

Resound my voice, ye woods that hear me plain,
Both hills and vales causing reflection;
And rivers eke record ye of my pain,
Which hath ye oft forced by compassion
As judges to hear mine exclamation,
Among whom pity I find doth remain:
Where I it seek alas there is disdain.

Oft ye rivers, to hear my woeful sound
Have stopped your course; and plainly to express
Many a tear, by moisture of the ground
The earth hath wept, to hear my heaviness,
Which causeless to suffer without redress
The hugy oaks have roared in the wind,
Each thing me thought complaining in their kind.

10 *has*: MS. *hase*, rhyming with *maze* (8). *Hope* (followed by 'still') perhaps should be *hopes*. Cf. p. 248, CVIII, 4.
17 *ure*: use (i.e. he has never found the 'surety'—pledge, security—of 16 trustworthy when putting it to the test).

2 *reflection*: echo. 3 *record*: tell over (Padelford). 9 *plainly to express*: the direct object is *Many a tear* (10), exuded and shown by the earth.

Why then alas doth not she on me rue?
Or is her heart so hard that no pity
May in it sink, my joy for to renew?
O stony heart, how hath this joined thee,
So cruel that art, cloaked with beauty?
No grace to me from thee there may proceed
But as rewarded death for to be my meed.

XXIII

In faith I not well what to say,
Thy chances been so wonderous,
Thou, fortune, with thy diverse play
That causeth joy full dolorous
And eke the same right joyous;
Yet though thy chain hath me enwrapped,
Spite of thy hap, hap hath well happed.

Though thou me set for a wonder,
And seekest thy change to do me pain,
Men's minds yet may thou not order,
And honesty, and it remain,
Shall shine for all thy cloudy rain.
In vain thou seekest to have trapped:
Spite of thy hap, hap hath well happed.

In hindering, thou diddest further,
And made a gap where was a stile.
Cruel wills been oft put under:

15 *rue*: pity.
18 *how . . . thee*: i.e. 'how has this person come to join thee?'; cf. D's *who hathe so clokid the*. W is amazed that a heart so cruel can be accompanied (and disguised) by a woman so beautiful.
20–21: 'Nothing can proceed from thee to me as a favour except death, given in reward to serve as my hire.'

1 *not*:=*ne wot*, don't know (reading conj. by Maxwell; MS. has *wot not*). Cf. XLVII, 11; LVI, 14. 5 *joyous*: trisyllabic.
9 *change*: changing (Baldi, 222). Or *thy* should be *by* (T). 11 *and it*: if it.
15 *hindering*: lit. 'keeping back'. 16: 'Where there was only a stile, you made a gap for me.' W seems to vary Tilley, H363.

Weening to lour, thou diddest smile.
Lord, how thyself thou diddest beguile,
That in thy cares wouldest me have lapped!
But spite of thy hap, hap hath well happed.

XXIV

Some fowls there be that have so perfect sight
Again the sun their eyes for to defend;
And some because the light doth them offend
Do never 'pear but in the dark or night.
Other rejoice, that see the fire bright,
And ween to play in it as they do pretend,
And find the contrary of it that they intend.
Alas, of that sort I may be by right,
For to withstand her look I am not able,
And yet can I not hide me in no dark place,
Remembrance so followeth me of that face;
So that with teary eyen, swollen and unstable,
My destiny to behold her doth me lead:
Yet do I know I run into the gleed.

XXV

Because I have thee still kept fro' lies and blame
And to my power always have I thee honoured,
Unkind tongue, right ill hast thou me rendered
For such desert to do me wreak and shame.

20 *cares*: sorrows.

1–2: W refers to the proverb 'Only the eagle can gaze at the sun' (*ODEP*, p. 210; Tilley, E3). But *fowls* may mean 'winged creatures' rather than 'birds': with 5–7, cf. CLXVI, 21 ff. (also CXIV, 10). 5 *fire*: cf. XX, 13.
14 *gleed*: fire. W is like the fowls described in 5–7. However, MS. *glede* may equally well represent *OED Glede, gled*, i.e. 'kite', proverbially the meanest of the birds of prey (see *ODEP*, p. 431). As such, the mistress would be fittingly contrasted with the noble eagle of 1–2.

3 *Unkind*: unnatural, perverse. Often: 'unnaturally cruel' (e.g. LV, 5).
4 *wreak*: harm.

In need of succour most when that I am
To ask reward, then standest thou like one afeared,
Alway most cold, and if thou speak toward,
It is as in dream, unperfect and lame.
And ye salt tears, again my will each night
That are with me when fain I would be alone,
Then are ye gone when I should make my moan.
And you so ready sighs to make me shright,
Then are ye slack when that ye should outstart.
And only my look declareth my heart.

XXVI

I find no peace, and all my war is done,
I fear and hope, I burn and freeze like ice,
I fly above the wind, yet can I not arise,
And nought I have, and all the world I season.
That looseth nor locketh, holdeth me in prison,
And holdeth me not, yet can I 'scape nowise,
Nor letteth me live, nor die at my device,
And yet of death it giveth me occasion.
Without eyen I see, and without tongue I plain,
I desire to perish, and yet I ask health,
I love another, and thus I hate myself,
I feed me in sorrow, and laugh in all my pain,
Likewise displeaseth me both death and life:
And my delight is causer of this strife.

7 *if . . . toward*: 'if you *do* speak towards her' rather than F and MT's 'if you speak to the point'.
12 *so . . . shright*: 'sighs so ready to make me shriek'. (*Shright* may be archaic in W and Spenser, and its use here is odd; cf. *OED*.)

4 *season*: cf. *OED season* v., 5, 'Of a bird or beast of prey: To "flesh" (its claws); hence *intr.* to seize *upon*.' (Petrarch: *abbraccio*.)
5 *That . . . locketh*: i.e. Love (Rollins).
7 *device*: will.

XXVII

Though I myself be bridled of my mind
Returning me backward by force express,
If thou seek honour to keep thy promise,
Who may thee hold, my heart, but thou thyself unbind?
Sigh then no more, since no way man may find
Thy virtue to let, though that frowardness
Of fortune me holdeth. And yet as I may guess,
Though other be present, thou art not all behind.
Suffice it then that thou be ready there
At all hours, still under the defence
Of time, truth, and love to save thee from offence,
Crying 'I burn in a lovely desire
With my dear master's, that may not follow,
Whereby his absence turneth him to sorrow.'

XXVIII

My galley charged with forgetfulness
Thorough sharp seas in winter nights doth pass
'Tween rock and rock, and eke mine enemy alas,
That is my lord, steereth with cruelness,

1–4: Cf. Hughey and MT, but the sense seems: 'Though *I* am forcefully prevented from following my inclination to return to her, if *you*, my heart, seek honour by keeping your promise to her, who can restrain you from that, unless you break your bond yourself?' While circumstances (6–7) prevent his physical return to his mistress, he wants his heart to go out to her.
8: 'Though there are rivals with her, you are not, in her thought, wholly at the end of the queue.'
11 *truth*: (cf. It. *vertute*) virtue, loyalty.
12 *lovely*: loving.
13–14: i.e. 'in keeping with the desire of my dear master, who is unable to follow me hither (to his mistress), so that his absence becomes his distress (*turneth*: cf. VIII, 42)'.

1 *charged with forgetfulness*: either 'oppressed by love so as to forget all else' (Tillyard), or 'loaded with nothing else than the feeling that she forgets me'.
3 *rock and rock*: Scylla and Charybdis in Petrarch; more general danger symbols in W.
4 *lord*: i.e. of Love (Cupid).

And every oar a thought in readiness,
As though that death were light in such a case.
An endless wind doth tear the sail apace,
Of forced sighs and trusty fearfulness;
A rain of tears, a cloud of dark disdain
Hath done the wearied cords great hinderance,
Wreathed with error, and eke with ignorance.
The stars be hid that led me to this pain,
Drowned is reason that should me comfort,
And I remain despairing of the port.

XXIX

Advising the bright beams of these fair eyes
Where he is that mine oft moisteth and washeth,
The wearied mind straight from the heart departeth
For to rest in his worldly paradise
And find the sweet bitter under this guise.
What webs he hath wrought well he perceiveth,
Whereby with himself on love he plaineth,
That spurreth with fire, and bridleth with ice.
Thus is it in such extremity brought:
In frozen thought now, and now it standeth in flame,
'Twixt misery and wealth, 'twixt earnest and game,
But few glad, and many a divers thought,
With sore repentance of his hardiness:
Of such a root cometh fruit fruitless.

5–6: Cf. Tillyard, but the sense seems 'All oars are ready thoughts, as though it would be easy for them to row me to death in this plight.' Death is thought of as an attractive, easy exit. 8: Dependent on *wind* (7), cf. *sighs* and Petrarch. 12 *The stars*: the lady's eyes (*that led me to this pain*, and cf. the It.; also (MT) Petrarch, *Rime* lxxiii).
13 *comfort*: doubtful reading. Nott, M, and ST read *consort*.

1–2: 'Referring to the lady's eyes, where dwells Cupid—he who moistens and bathes . . . the lover's own eyes with tears' (Rollins). 1 *Advising*: gazing at. 6: The first *he* is Cupid, the second the mind. 9 *it*: the mind. 11 *wealth*: well-being. 12 *divers*: adverse (cf. It. *tristi*). 14: Cf. VIII, 109. Each statement may be a variant (MT) of 'Such is the tree such is the fruit' (cf. Tilley, T494; also T486 and 497). But also cf. Whiting, F685, 'Evil fruit witnesses evil root'; and with VIII, 109, compare 'He that sows good seed, shall reap good corn' (*ODEP*, p. 758; Tilley, S209), as well as CLXVI, 28 (Tilley, G405).

XXX

Ever mine hap is slack and slow in coming,
Desire increasing, mine hope uncertain,
That leave it or wait it doth me like pain,
And tiger-like swift it is in parting.
Alas, the snow shall be black and scalding,
The sea waterless, fish in the mountain,
The Thames shall return back into his fountain,
And where he rose the sun shall take lodging,
Ere that I in this find peace or quietness,
In that Love or my lady righteously
Leave to conspire again me wrongfully.
And if that I have after such bitterness
Anything sweet, my mouth is out of taste,
That all my trust and travail is but waste.

XXXI

Love and fortune and my mind remember
Of that that is now, with that that hath been;
Do torment me so, that I very often
Envy them that be beyond all measure.
Love slaith mine heart, fortune is depriver
Of all my comfort, the foolish mind then
Burneth and plaineth as one that seldom
Liveth at rest, still in displeasure.
My pleasant days they fleet away and pass,
But daily yet the ill doth change into the worse,

3 *leave . . . it*: cf. 'take it or leave it' (Tilley, T28).
5–8: For reference to the use of such *impossibilia*, cf. Rollins and MT.
10 *In that*: i.e. peace will not exist unless the conspiracy of 11 ceases.

4: *beyond all measure* ('beyond all reach') translates Petrarch's *su l'altra riva* ('"on the other shore," that is, dead'—Rollins); *that be* (Buxton conj.) is not in E, but would translate P.'s *che son*, could easily have been omitted between *them* and *beyond*, and is metrically fitting. However, E has a gap before *Envy*.
8 *displeasure*: grief.

And more than the half is run of my course.
Alas, not of steel but of brickle glass
I see that from mine hand falleth my trust,
And all my thoughts are dashed into dust.

XXXII

How oft have I, my dear and cruel foe,
With those your eyes for to get peace and truce
Proffered you mine heart! But you do not use
Among so high things to cast your mind so low.
If any other look for it as ye trow,
Their vain weak hope doth greatly them abuse.
And thus I disdain that that ye refuse:
It was once mine—it can no more be so.
If I then it chase, nor it in you can find,
In this exile no manner of comfort,
Nor live alone, nor where he is called resort,
He may wander from his natural kind.
So shall it be great hurt unto us twain,
And yours the loss, and mine the deadly pain.

XXXIII

Like to these unmeasurable mountains
Is my painful life, the burden of ire,
For of great height be they, and high is my desire,
And I of tears, and they be full of fountains.
Under craggy rocks they have full barren plains,
Hard thoughts in me my woeful mind doth tire.
Small fruit and many leaves their tops do attire,
Small effect with great trust in me remains.

11: i.e. 'more than half of my life is gone' (therefore, W may have been 35 at this time, traditionally half a life-span—cf., e.g., Psalm 90:10).
12 *not of steel*: i.e. *my trust* (13).
12 *brickle*: brittle. Mirrors were made of glass or steel.

3 *do not use*: are not in the habit of. 9 *chase*: i.e. away.
11 *nor . . . resort*: the It. explains: 'nor apply elsewhere'.
12: Lit. 'He may stray from his natural function.' 'That is, die' (Rollins).

6 *tire*: the mind 'tears at' hard thoughts like a hawk exercising or feeding on tough flesh (*OED tire* v.²; It. *coglie*).

The boistous winds oft their high boughs do blast,
Hot sighs from me continually be shed.
Cattle in them, and in me love is fed.
Immovable am I, and they are full steadfast.
Of that restless birds they have the tune and note,
And I always plaints that pass thorough my throat.

XXXIV

Madame, withouten many words,
Once, I am sure, ye will or no:
And if ye will, then leave your bourds,
And use your wit, and show it so.

And with a beck ye shall me call,
And if of one that burneth alway
Ye have any pity at all,
Answer him fair with yea or nay.

If it be yea, I shall be fain;
If it be nay, friends as before:
Ye shall another man obtain,
And I mine own, and yours no more.

XXXV

Ye old mule, that think yourself so fair,
Leave off with craft your beauty to repair,

9 *boistous*: ferocious. (Cf. mod. *boisterous*.)
13 *that*: those. (Possibly in error for *the*, but cf. *OED* II.1.c).

3 *bourds*: mockery; jests. 4 *use your wit*: be sensible.
8 *yea*: E has here and in 9 [.&.]. MT suggests the & indicates a nod.
9 *fain*: willing (?). Cf. *un si criuero 'n rima*.
11 *man*: servant, lover.
12 *And . . . own*: 'and I shall be my own master' (Tillyard).

S, by restoring the text in five places (*true*, *more*, *savours*, *thayer*, *layer*) and by discussing its meaning in detail in *ELN*, 1967, 5–11, has done much to enhance the stature of this interesting poem.
1 *mule*: Anne Boleyn was called 'Mula Regina' (Sanders in Nott), but perhaps W means another woman 'of a licentious character' (Nott). Padelford compares the term *eques* as one of reproach, with examples.